

# PEACE NEWS

For War-Resistance and World-Community

No. 611

March 12th, 1948

THREE PENCE

## Czechoslovakia: BRITAIN WAKES UP

EXPERIENCE teaches me that it is possible to get into hot water simply by asking questions. In a recent Commentary I put a few to pacifists concerning a handful of unfortunate Eastern European statesmen who, because they disagreed with the political doctrines of the Soviet Government under whose influence they had fallen, were either exiled, imprisoned or executed.

Could pacifists, I asked, simply watch this sort of thing happen and still not contemplate any kind of redress against the tyrants who imposed those sentences? There were one or two other questions of a like nature, and some replies were published in Peace News.

What was interesting for me, however, was the fact that one or two readers told me directly they did not agree with me and thought, quite obviously, that I was unversed in the pacifist's case. The interest of this lay in the fact that one cannot either agree or disagree with a question.

### COMMENTARY

by

LLEWELLYN CHANTER

One can only answer it. I suspect that one or two consciences had been deeply stirred and any answer to those questions was going to be an embarrassing affair.

I admit they were difficult to answer, but answered they must be. In fact, I would say now that the whole "pacifist movement," if it can be said that there is such a coherent organisation, will either live and thrive, or fall into a state of corruption unless it finds answers to the kind of questions I posed in that Commentary, and to the very similar questions which are perplexing one peace-loving organisation or another throughout the country.

### Czechoslovakia

MR. BRUCE ODSPUR, writing in this place last week, dwelt on the events in Czechoslovakia. As the blow dealt there is unquestionably the most staggering and the most malign aimed at democracy since Hitler entered Prague, I am taking the liberty of enlarging a little on what Mr. Odspar had to say. I may even be bold enough again to ask a few more questions. After all, it is obvious that what can happen to a handful of politicians one day can happen to a whole nation the next and, eventually, as we shall see in a matter of weeks, to a very extensive area of the world's surface.

### Whitehall misleads

DESPITE all Mr. Bevin's admirable qualities as a Foreign Secretary, Whitehall has been almost wilfully misleading about the state of affairs in Czechoslovakia since the autumn of last year. I write "almost" because I have good reason to believe that, as in 1938, Middle European diplomats have been incapable of reading the signals as a result of which they grossly misinterpreted the direction in which Russian policy was heading. It will be found, as history takes its course and time takes the sting out of official despatches, that diplomatic telegrams to London were couched in terms of optimism about the unshakeable foundations of Czechoslovak democracy; that Russian

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX)

## When preparing for atomic war

# TALK OF CIVIL DEFENCE IS TRAGIC FOLLY

By Kathleen Lonsdale, D.Sc., F.R.S.

A FEW weeks ago Sir John Hodsell, Home Office Inspector General of Civil Defence, spoke at Bristol about civil defence plans for the next war. This is undoubtedly a problem that must be faced squarely by all who believe that another war is inevitable. If we can make plans now which may relieve suffering at some future time, ought we not to make them? Even if we believe that war is not inevitable, should we not be prepared, in case it comes?

I suggest that the answers to these questions should be considered under two headings. Firstly, what civil defence is possible in an atomic war? Secondly, will such preparation make war more likely?

One first point needs to be cleared up. Many people think that because atomic warfare is so terrible, it will not be used, either from fear of retaliation or from compassionate reluctance. Gas, they say, was used in World War I, but not in World War II; therefore we need not prepare for atom-bombs, still less for bacterial or genetic weapons or any of those other horrors that mean world-suicide.

### A WAR-WINNER

That supposition shows an entire misunderstanding of the nature of the weapons involved, and ignores the moral deterioration that is inseparable from war itself. Gas was a poor weapon; never a war-winner; merely an attack on public morale. Atom-bombs are super-weapons; any determined aggressor would not hesitate to use them, for a sudden, co-ordinated and unexpected attack would certainly cripple, if not paralyse organised

retaliation, though retaliation would be attempted.

Is the USA piling up a stock of atom-bombs for nothing? The fact is, that if war comes, these bombs will be used, and to make serious plans for defence on the assumption that they will not, would be as stupid as to ignore the invention of aeroplanes or of rocket-propulsion.

### TRIAL AND ERROR

The preparations for the last war consisted mainly of trial and error measures: gas-masks and decontamination squads were not needed, nor the provision made in hospitals for the treatment of typhus. Many air-raid shelters became flooded and unusable; rest and distribution centres were needed for refugees from raided districts and were not at first available (except as voluntarily set up in church halls and Friends Meeting Houses). Evacuated families returned in times of quiet and then had to be re-evacuated later. Mistakes were continually made and corrected.

It cannot be too clearly understood that in an atomic war mistakes cannot be remedied, and that war is the greatest mistake of all, for in an atomic war no serious defence is possible.

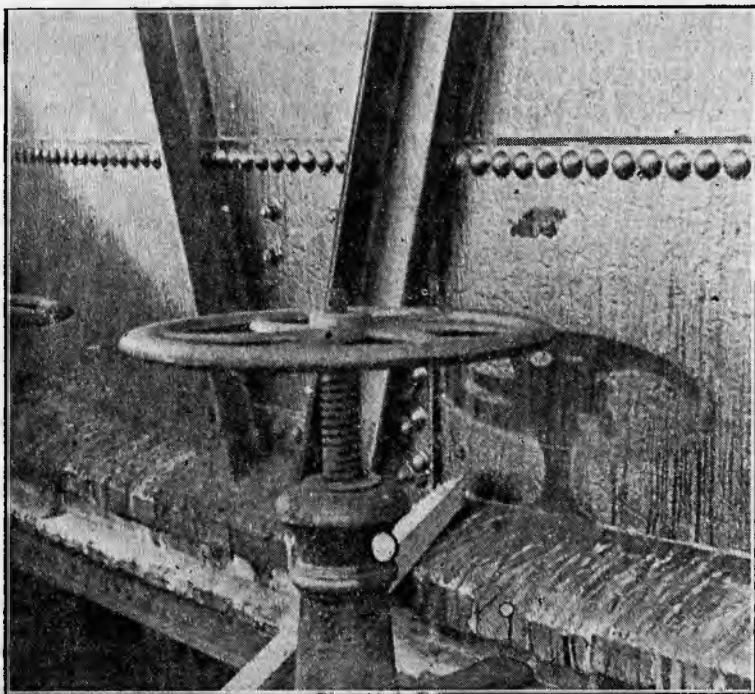
At Hiroshima, in a fraction of an instant, 27 out of 33 fire-stations were gutted and three-quarters of the fire-fighting personnel put out of action. At the same time fires broke out all over the city. A quarter-of-a-million people were killed or injured, but so were 90 per cent. of the doctors and 75 per cent. of the nurses. Every hospital but one was wrecked, every power and railway station, every telegraph and telephone exchange destroyed. The city was saturated with disaster.

And this was the first atom-bomb, a comparative baby, exploded high in the air so as to prevent the terrible

### Shadow of the Bomb

*The intense heat from the atomic bomb at Hiroshima affected the paint on a gasholder 1½ miles from the centre of the damage—except where the surface was shielded by the wheel and spindle.*

This picture (Crown copyright reserved) was included in the report of the British Mission to Japan on the effects of the bomb published by the Stationery Office.



radio-active products of the explosion from settling on the ground.

Yes: that bomb was detonated mercifully; if it had been exploded under water in the neighbourhood of a big town like Bristol, so that the poisonous spray would settle on the buildings and on the ground, that town would be so contaminated for months that no-one could live there. Bikini was contaminated in this way; more than a year later, Dr. Stafford L. Warren, Chief of Radiological Safety, reported that the island was still uninhabitable.

### SHELTERS USELESS

We may ring our towns round in the country with ambulances, hospitals, fire-stations. We may calculate the thickness of concrete that will protect from the blast of an atom-bomb and we may build deep shelters; but if the ground above is contaminated for months, how are people to come out of the shelters or rescue squads to operate? And most of our big towns are near water. That makes Great Britain one of the most vulnerable of targets.

Moreover, the atom bomb is a weapon of treachery; it could be planted in time of apparent peace in the hold of a ship as part of an innocent cargo and so detonated as to pin-point its target without warning. Are we all to live in deep shelters all our lives?

Some defence measures are theoretically possible; white clothing and dark glasses will minimise heat and glare effects at a distance; permanent evacuation from big towns would be the most effective protection of all, short of the prevention of war itself. But with the present limited housing shortage looming so large on the economic horizon, are we prepared to rehouse all the urban population of Great Britain, rebuild all our factories and offices in the country and provide such a transport system as to prevent concentration anywhere?

Talk of civil defence in these circumstances is tragic folly, not merely because we are deluding ourselves into thinking we are safe when that kind of safety is impossible, but because the very measures we take are creating a vested interest in war, and are making war more likely.

### VESTED INTERESTS

Every man and woman engaged in making plans for the next war has a vested interest in war; the nearer war comes, the safer is their job, the bigger the profits to be earned by those who sell what may be needed. The Home Office Inspectorate of Civil Defence are paid to do their job by us, and of course they do it as well as they can. If war were unthinkable, they would have to find other jobs. Part of their job is to create an atmosphere of security. But it is a false security, and all the good folk who think that by helping in these measures they may be helping to prevent future suffering are not merely wasting their time, they are wasting the thought and energy that they ought to be putting into the prevention of war.



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## HOPE

ONE of the distinctive characteristics of a civilisation which, having already "broken down," is ripe for its "universal state," is, according to Prof. Toynbee, the multiplication of *déracinées*, of displaced persons as we should call them, in but not of the life of the great society.

This dictum is forcibly recalled by a report in The Christian News Letter this month on social conditions in Central Europe: for the author, a German expellee, cites "the uprooted individual" (a category into which falls the bulk of the German populace, deprived all at once of its accustomed technological environment) as "the most arresting phenomenon of our times." He is, moreover, "standing at the cross-roads":

*Faced with the prospect of a zero existence, he may take the way of nihilism and atheism, renouncing all transcendental expectations and obligations and surrendering himself completely to the realisation of secular possibilities. If the modern nihilist is able to resist the temptations to cynicism, demoralisation and criminality, he must be driven sooner or later to some form of Bolshevism . . .*

*But the uprooted individual is open for another decision. He may find a new understanding of a Gospel that was proclaimed to the poor and not, in the first instance, to the rich and satisfied. Secretly, and often it may be unconsciously, he is waiting to hear a new and less pharisaical, a more sincere and radical word from the Christian pulpit. Something in his soul is open to a new encounter with genuine Christian truth.*

*Are we able to predict his future attitude? He may be ready to break abruptly with all the blessings of the Constantinian era of the Church, and to return to the catacombs.*

To any reader of Toynbee's *Study of History*, this choice must appear startlingly familiar. It is the very one, between violence and *satyagraha*, that confronted the "internal proletariat" of the Roman Empire—the choice which was finally decided by St. Paul and his immediate successors.

Can the Primitive Church find its counterpart in Europe today? In Italy, Time reports, a Catholic priest, Father Riccardo Lombardi, is launching a crusade for the reordering of society "without the need of violence, but through love." Possessed, it seems, by a spirit recalling St. Francis, he is everywhere snatching the ground from under the Communists' feet. And Italy is no occupied country, overshadowed by "Little Poonas," or deprived of the means of armed defence.

Aldous Huxley once suggested that the country of Bismarck and Clausewitz might, if defeated and occupied, paradoxically be the first in the West to put the power of non-violence to the proof. May it be that in Niemöller's call to the German people to ignore the de-nazification decrees, we have the first stirrings of a Christian Resistance there?

Launched by men trained in the discipline of non-violence, and prepared if need be for the catacombs, such a Resistance would have unpredictable results. For nothing could confine it to the British and American Zones. Inevitably, it would spread to the Russian as well, and through Czechoslovakia South and East . . .

Who knows whether Germany, bowed down by the waters of Babylon, may not have been singled out, by the very depth of her humiliation, for a more glorious mission than has fallen to the lot of any nation in modern times?

This is the first of three reviews in which prominent spokesmen of the British and American Peace Movements discuss Mr. Murry's new book.\*

## The Pacifist Dilemma

*"With this book, which is the first fruits of my continuous thinking during the war, I discard my pacifism and deliberately enter the political arena . . ."*

MANY pacifists will read this declaration with genuine regret. From the first appearance of Mr. Murry's "Necessity of Pacifism" he has been a standard bearer of the cause and clearly it is not a declaration which he finds it easy to make. He confesses to being still "pacifist at heart."

What then has produced this change in attitude? In concrete terms the threat of Soviet Russia to the life of the free societies and the impossibility of meeting that threat in any other way than by compelling Russia to come into a World Authority and waging a preventive war now if she refuses.

It is the contemporary form of the dilemma which faced the pacifist over the war in Spain—the dilemma to which attention was called in the Report of the Atomic Energy Commission set up by the British Council of Churches—the dilemma between the moral demand of the pacifist faith and the seeming irrelevance of pacifist politics.

### For non-pacifist too

It is a dilemma for pacifist and non-pacifist and if there are any pacifists who have not felt its challenge they ought to read this book and open their hearts to its sincere and closely reasoned argument. It does not seem to me, however, that Mr. Murry has resolved the dilemma, he has only transferred himself from one horn to the other.

With Mr. Murry's high valuation of the Free Society we shall most of us agree, and the news day by day underlines the contention that its life is threatened. It does embody Christian values, however imperfectly. And if the Free Societies feel that it would be "utterly wrong and a shameful betrayal" to throw down all defences against a nation which definitely repudiates their most precious social achievement, then Mr. Murry believes they would be right and he would be unwilling to do or say anything to weaken their resolve.

So the dilemma starkly presented is

\*The Free Society, by John Middleton Murry, Dakers, 12s. 6d.

### Power motive and Gandhi

SURELY Peace News is the one paper in Britain wherein a pacifist can criticise Gandhi without being misunderstood. Mr. Malaiperman answers me saying that such criticism is a presumption. One is reminded that in India Gandhi is being deified; but, from personal contacts I have made, it seems that British pacifists realise that we can learn from the imperfections of any man.

Indians never had the choice of bloody revolution against the British for against the latter's might it was impossible. Also India did not attain her freedom by mass non-violence. Had she done so, the British retreat would have occurred during one of the mass disobedience campaigns.

India will now organise her own national defence, probably with our co-operation, and also her own internal violence system. Indians will then find the yoke just as painful even if it does not belong to the foreigners. Perhaps they have already done so for Gandhi was assassinated by an Indian after independence was granted.

Gandhi did not suffer martyrdom. A martyr's death is premeditated and voluntary; Gandhi had just announced that he hoped to live about 130 years.

It is also nonsense to say that Gandhi was not a politician. He directed the political life of India, and like all politicians he used symbols to influence the masses. Of course the loincloth stood for something much better than the cigar, but I am not going to judge Mr. Churchill and

Accept Atomic War or Sacrifice the Free Society. Mr. Murry feels bound to accept Atomic War because he sees no other practical or practicable method of defending the Free Society. Not that he is very hopeful even of this, "We must regard it as almost axiomatic that the Free Society cannot be successfully defended by post-atomic war. The means employed will almost certainly destroy the end. Nevertheless, the only pacifist alternative is to take refuge from reality in an unholy combination of the Utopian policy of unilateral disarmament and a practical policy of unlimited appeasement."

To the conscientious objector Mr. Murry suggests that "the purely in-

—by—

### Dr. ALEX WOOD

Lecturer in Physics at Cambridge, and a member of the National Peace Council.

dividual conscience is an anachronism and a nonentity" and that "the individual person in the modern nation state is largely an illusion." Marxist theory and the experience of the war will have convinced many CO's that it is not possible to disentangle oneself completely from a society at war, but few will be prepared to go as far as Mr. Murry asks them. It may be true that the "conscientious objector now operates under licence from the State, and is simply allotted tasks in the war machine which do not offend his peculiar idiosyncrasy," but at least he has declared that "in a human society every individual is valid as an individual" and "has asserted his reverence for the individual person," which for Mr. Murry used to be the basis of democracy (Pledge of Peace p. 50).

Nor will the Christian readily accept Oliver Cromwell as his pattern—creator of a more tolerant society though he may have been. "Those who wish to serve the Christian Society or the Free Society—and today they are indistinguishable—must," says Mr. Murry, "accept the example of Cromwell, and be prepared like him, to outrage the Spirit of Christ in making war if need be, to

say that he was any the less sincere or devoted to his cause than Gandhi. Unfortunately, these virtues are not enough.

Mr. Malaiperman further contends that Gandhi never sacrificed his principles for the sake of expediency. He should study Gandhi's conduct dur-

## LETTERS

ing the 1914-18 war, and may I also point out that Gandhi was not following pacifist principles when he sheltered under the protection of an armed guard.

Gandhi was a great man, but I do not believe that his main purpose was a true unselfish love of God in the mystical sense. Had it been he would have understood the inefficaciousness not only of violence but also of governments as we know them. He would have realised that by playing the role of a Great Leader, he was using a means which could not further his high ideals. The Kingdom of God is within every man and each must play his part.

DERRICK. A. PIKE.

3 Park Terrace,  
Street Road, Glastonbury.

### Atomic salesmanship

THE other day a charming young man called, trying to sell us the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. He left a beautifully produced brochure with my wife. On the cover was a picture of the atom-bomb exploding upon the

## LAST TIME OF ASKING

NO, don't be too hopeful—this is the last time I shall hold out my begging bowl, though I'm sure must be as tired of crying as you of hearing, "Alms for the love of Allah."

This is only the last time of asking for gifts of £25 to the PN Fund. We need eighteen more—or nine gifts of £50—secure the £50 which our supporter in the Channel Isles has promised if they are forthcoming.

With that sum, we should be well away towards a better paper and better publicity. Must the offer go by default? Unless I receive the gifts before the end of the month I shall have to write and tell him that must. On the contrary, if we do receive them, I promise to stop begging for a quarter, and if possible to replace this page by a pocket cartoon.

THE EDITOR.

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compel Soviet Russia to enter a Free Society of nations." This is a hard saying.

There may be times when we have deliberately to depart from the letter of the Christian ethic, but if we are to outrage the Spirit of Christ, whose guidance is left to us? Are we not committed to doing evil that good may come; to justifying the means by a reference to the end; and in particular to being ruthless with persons in order to achieve a desirable society? In short, are we not lining up with the Communists?

I cannot, along any of these lines find justification for urging, or even acquiescing in a policy which involves the indiscriminate massacre of men, women and children on a scale hitherto unknown—a massacre perpetuated through generations to come. And in my view, if we do acquiesce, we shall be as responsible for the massacre when it comes as if we had taken part in it with our own hands. This responsibility we cannot assume.

### Utopian, but . . .

I am inclined to agree that unilateral disarmament is Utopian and might invite aggression. And the negotiated peace and the conference table look at present rather like appeasement. But however bankrupt we may be in the political field, we are under constraint to defend the values, in which we believe by loyalty to them at whatever risk, and to serve the Free Society only by constructive and positive methods.

And so we lay down the book with genuine respect for its deep sincerity and grateful to Mr. Murry for much that helps to clear our thinking and for his frank criticism of the pacifist movement, so much of which is only too well merited.

globe, "releasing knowledge to the world." Out of the smoke arose the Arts and Sciences of Man.

No-one would say this was in the same flight as the officer (also "American") whose wedding-cake symbolised the atom-bomb explosion, but this is not the impeccable taste one expects from the *Britannica*. Splitting the atom may represent Man's attainment, but the bomb has other, more doubtful associations. I wonder how they'd sell the *Britannica* in Nagasaki or Hiroshima?

DENIS HAYES.

14 Riverside Avenue,  
East Molesey, Surrey.

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Vera Brittain says: "Most attractive"

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# THE VILLAGE

March 12, 1948, PEACE NEWS-3

THE driving rains that have lasted for days give a desolate feel to this remote mountain village—six and seven miles away from its next nearest villages.

In the hard weather last Spring the deep snow marooned us for weeks and cut off all road traffic; the mountains which surround us for 200 square miles looked like Arctic solitudes broken only by the rocky peaks of Snowdon and Siabod and Tryfan. Even the mountain streams were frozen and silent. But all this had the effect of increasing our sympathy if it lessened our mobility.

There were first the obvious refugees—the half-starved mountain sheep that wandered the road and looked up at one helplessly for some solution of a problem beyond their woolly brains, and bleated for aid. There were neighbours too, who needed a path cleared to their homes, or water carried from the unfrozen spring on the hill, or fuel from fallen fir branches, or friendship in the general dismay. You forgot the County Council and Parliament and saw the village baker with more respect, and the men who manned the railway in all weathers.

## How ethics grow

What Arthur Morgan saw clearly in his study of "The Small Community"—that ethics grew out of right-relationships and not vice versa—was self evident now. No potentate, nor police state could have enforced the Ten Commandments, to say nothing of the services and kindnesses and courtesies of those hard days.

The net of good neighbourship only becomes visible in time of crisis like the net of the fishermen when he pulls in his haul. But it caught even our few suburban neighbours used to "keeping themselves to themselves." I suppose it was lack of neighbourliness that prompted the reflection, "God made the country, man made the town, and the Devil made the suburbs."

Also one sees life from the village longitudinally as well as latitudinally, in the newspapers and on the map; at least you learn that men have survived many revolutions and have found refuge in many generations. In the pre-Norman castle was born Llewelyn the Great who claimed to rule all Wales and to defy England; that he could not rule his wife or family might have discounted his pretensions had the Middle Ages thought less about "status" and more about "contract."

In the old Parish Church you are reminded to pray for the soul of Mareddydd ab Ifan who died in 1525 and who put down the bandits who infested these forest solitudes.

But what is now germane to present living is the hold on more recent tradition by quarrymen and sheep farmers.

## 'The old know....'

There is a Welsh adage—"The old know and the young think"—which is a reminder that knowledge can fall far short of wisdom. Mrs. Jackson, our suburban neighbour, swears by the Daily Mail and swears at the Daily Herald, but John Jones who works on the quarry crags is more inclined to say "my father used to tell me." Experience is nearer to the heart of the wisdom, that the Greeks prized higher than knowledge; perhaps it is more scientific too as it involves experiments in living and finding that "life is more than food as the body is more than raiment."

Last week I cross-examined half a dozen older villagers at a Village Brains Trust. It was interesting to hear their memories of the old coach on the mountain roads, of the difficulties of communications, of the home life round the peat fire, of the farm food and homespun clothes.

But they were all clear that there was then far more communion, not only in the religious sense of being "members one of another," but in the practice of neighbourliness in sickness, sorrow, poverty and need.

The first Church School had taught the Catechism but had punished children for talking Welsh, and had left no memory of Creed or kindness. The real culture was home made—a dozen poets were remembered in the

By George M. Ll. Davies

"The small community, the intimate group within the scope of a man's acquaintance, remains the primary pattern in which men must live if they would have good life. Their moral sensibility and devotion, their appreciative integrity and natural art depend on it."

This quotation from Arthur Morgan's book, "The Small Community" (published in the USA) was one of many which appeared in George M. Ll. Davies's previous article on Feb. 20. From writing about this book and its author, "a former President of the Tennessee Valley Authority, with 2,000 engineers under his direction," George Davies turned to examine life in a Welsh village—another small community.

village, a harpist, and a choir that won the chief prize in the National Eisteddfod and performed Oratorios.

A slate slab by the mountain ravine records of a famous preacher: "The cliffs of Nature's college were his strange University; he went as a strong man forth; God's great man set Wales aflame."

## Not narrow

Greatness was then not mere megalomania or map reading, but "to speak great verse unto a little clan." It was Chesterton that reminded men that a Clan is not narrow; it is the clique that is narrow—men held together by some abstract dogma or ideology. With the Clan, at least relationship comes first and notions second.

Recently I joined a group discussion of problems of religion and life—there was freedom, frankness, earnest thought and humour in the talk which went on for nearly two hours. This was the Folk High School of the village.

Two days earlier, at the University College Library, I read through the manuscript poems of a boy from the village who emigrated to Wisconsin in the forties of last century; he had become State architect and had read widely of Darwin and Herbert Spencer, but the nostalgia of his poems was for the mountains and their village folk; for the farm with its

kindliness, its crafts, its peasant culture and warm neighbourliness.

As I read I reflected that here was "The Great Society" of which Arthur Morgan writes today, and the human and spiritual values which all the dollars of America could not buy.

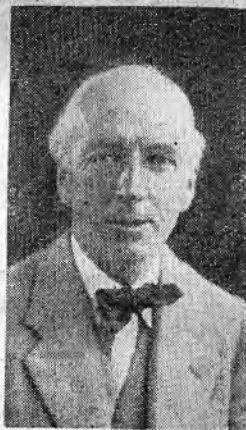
Today we have preferred Woolworth to Wordsworth, cheap goods rather than the good life; we do not produce the "village Hampden, who the little tyrant of his fields withstood, nor some Cromwell guiltless of his country's blood." We look to the Government for all good things and have decided lately that the last word in democracy is "one man—one vote" with a chance to use it once in five years.

## Our pacifist M.P.

The inadequacy of this conception of democracy was felt acutely by our old pacifist MP, Judge Bryn Roberts, one of the first phalanx of six to oppose the South African war.

He had no illusions about popularity or public opinion. I remember his saying to me, "When I was young we discussed matters of politics, morality or theology in the village and came to some decision; but today people say, 'It's true—I saw it in the Paper,' as though some sprig of a fellow who writes the newspaper leaders tells us the truth!"

In the quest of truth the villagers have not given up looking at life



Geo. M. Ll. Davies.

## Words of Peace - No 238

### VOW FOR PEACE

God speed the day when human blood  
Shall cease to flow!  
In every clime be understood  
The claims of human brotherhood,  
And each return for evil, good—  
Not blow for blow.  
That day will come, all feud to end,  
And change into a faithful friend  
Each foe.

Until that year, day, hour arrive,  
If life be given—  
With head, and heart, and hand I'll  
strive  
To break the rod, and rend the gyve,  
The spoiler of his prey, deprive—  
To witness Heaven!  
And never from my chosen post  
Whate'er the peril or the cost,  
Be driven.

William Lloyd Garrison.

sub specie aeternitatis. The tales of patriarchs and prophets are still more familiar to them than the stories of politicians and film stars.

I heard recently a group of six quarrymen and farmers discuss man's lust for authority. I saw yesterday service and sacrament and heard sermon and singing worthy of the two hundred men and women of thought and feeling for whom Communion and Community had not been divorced; their sense of democracy comes from vocation not from vote, and means friendship and forgiveness.

Pacifism in a small community may not seem very obvious but I wonder if it can be more radical and real than the work of our pacifist village schoolmaster who has learned to become a teacher rather than a master in the school, with its classes and crafts—its gardening, printing, singing; and playing—there is a freedom and a friendship that may give the children that culture which Arthur Morgan finds so important.

It is pleasant to be able to wander into a school, to tell yarns to the children, to see a Gipsy labourer do a step dance, or tell stories of tickling trout or catching a fox, to a roomfull of eager children who are naturally more interested in life than in abstract ideas.

he knows that he has taken a wrong turn, leading away from his true destination, the wise man retraces his steps. It may be difficult to go back; it may be necessary to do it gradually and carefully; but it can be done if the understanding and the will are there.

The trouble is that we have a physical power put into our hands which is beyond our spiritual and intellectual powers. At the same time, we are induced to believe that we ought to be able to cope with it, consequently we try—and blunder.

Scientists should know all this very well by now, and their responsibility is a grave one. "... For it must needs be that offences come; but woe unto that man by whom the offence cometh!" Men able to separate the "peaceful" aspects of atomic energy from its more obviously "warlike" would be at a stage of development where they had little sympathy with such toys, anyway.

THE control of atomic energy is of urgent importance, because if we fail to do it immediately we will perish. In the long run, however, it is of greater importance for what it symbolises.

One we have set foot on the path of controlling the activities of scientists, we will find that there is no early stopping-place. The whole field of Science will have to be brought under review.

We will have to devise ways and means of control, with the appropriate punishment for disobedience. We will have to find an alternative to the Inquisition and the stake. But, first and foremost, we will have to learn why we must do it and in the name of what principles, and that is a spiritual question to which there is no slot-machine answer.

The terrible justice and irony of the situation is that our excessive devotion and slavish obedience to Science have deprived us of the very teachers necessary to guide us in our hour of peril.

JOHN WARD.

## CONTROL OF SCIENCE

Law of Inevitable Progress by simply pitching the new "discovery" on the scrap-heap, and going on as before.

Now there may be much to be said for pure Science (using the word in its current sense), but there is this to be remembered — it is only a small part of knowledge, and the more we specialise in one field, the less we know of another. Although we can do much with matter, we have become ignorant, for example, in metaphysics. If we must specialise, it is essential to put first things first.

APPLIED - SCIENCE has grown into a menace. It should be obvious that those who are most affected by an invention should decide whether or not they want it. This rarely happens. The invention is launched by those specially interested with the maximum of favourable publicity. It is never put to us fairly and squarely that the penny has two sides. Whatever is likely to be indigestible to us, harmful and productive of unhappiness, is glossed over.

The emphasis is on material progress: "this will give you more warmth, food, entertainment, leisure" and so on. No time is allowed for reflection, for disinterested examination, and it may only be years later that the full deleterious effect is experienced, but by then it is too late. So much else has been adapted, so many other adjustments have been made, so much has been dovetailed into the pattern, that it always seems impossible to retreat.

AT this point, too, one meets the parrot-chorus about "not being able to turn the clock back." (Which clock, by the way, cannot be turned back if desired?) A better metaphor is that of the traveller and the way. Once

THE dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima was the most significant event of the Industrial Age. At last, as was prophesied a generation earlier by René Guénon, a profane Science fulfilled its mission by providing man with the instrument of his total destruction:

"At the present stage, it does not need much imagination to envisage the West finally destroying itself, perhaps in a gigantic war of which the last gives only a feeble idea, perhaps by the unforeseen effects of some product which, handled clumsily, would be able to blow sky-high not merely a factory or a town, but a whole continent."—East and West.

In August, 1945, we had the chance to know our civilisation for what it was. Instead, uneasily, unhappily, we shuffled out of our responsibility, and have since been trying to pretend that it was only an isolated happening, an event much like another, and without any special importance.

Some of the atomic scientists themselves have made attempts to focus public attention on the issue. Their activities have been summed up in the modern fashion in a slogan: "Atomic Power is here to stay—Are we?"

WE should do well to guard against irritation at the absence of repentance in their confident tones and at this casual passing of the buck, for we are all guilty in some degree or other. We ought to examine the underlying principles carefully.

They are presupposing four things. 1. That research-science has an absolute right to indulge in unlimited experiments into the laws of the material universe and that its conclusions have the highest possible value. 2. That applied-science has an absolute right to apply or adapt these "discoveries" to our everyday lives. 3. That even if the practical application of these "discoveries" is disastrous in its effect on what Aldous Huxley has called the mental climate of the ordinary man, this unfortunate will still have to find his own way out of the mess, for the blind cannot lead the blind. 4. That in no circumstances shall he offend against the



## Well I'll be...

THOSE who advocate the abolition of capital punishment have obviously not realised the serious complications which may follow their success. These include unemployment amongst hangmen, and a disturbance in the trade of timber merchants, rope makers, brass founders, and coroners amongst others.

All this was fully brought out by Charles Duff in his *Handbook on Hanging* in 1928, now re-issued by the Freedom Press (2s.) at a time when there is a strong and hopeful campaign to gain abolition of the death penalty through the Criminal Justice Bill now before Parliament.

The earlier editions did not deter a single abolitionist from trying to add himself to those out of work. Nor will this, but it might well serve a useful purpose nevertheless in deterring a few supporters of the death penalty, for while we long ago abandoned the pillory, public ridicule remains an effective instrument where logic sometimes fails.

## A DYING ART

This defence of the hangman, this glorification of a dying (not to say killing) art has been brought up to date with recent statistics, with the views of Shaw and Joad and the more responsible views of past and present Home Secretaries, Chuter Ede and Lord Templewood who have reversed their roles of defender and opponent of legal death as a lesson against murder.

The Gallup Poll, representing the public as still supporting the death penalty, is mentioned, but not the recent correspondence in "The Times" and other newspapers revealing a heavy preponderance of articulate thought in favour of abolition.

This assembly of fact, fiction, fantasy and even verse is timely, and, moreover, free from any sentiment. Quoting a Home Secretary who said "Mob mercy was as bad as mob execution," Duff goes on to suggest that

If the spirit of mercy... continues at the rate at which it has grown in recent years, there is no saying where it may end. We may even see the abolition of war. What a disaster that would be! Imagine a world in which the spirit of Christ predominated and human life were held to be sacred. This sort of sentiment must not be permitted to take root anywhere.

There is, however, considerable flippancy about a serious subject. For instance, Charles Duff mentions a friend who would not believe that there was no statue in London to any of our great hangmen. "Although I swore this to him he still remained in doubt, for he had inspected most of the existing statues and his suspicions had been aroused."

Although this book claims to be "all very proper to be read and kept in every family," the whole thing is really in highly commendable bad taste and should not be read by those without a sense of humour.

FRANK DAWTRY.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

Support the Pacifist Challenge!

## BRISTOL ATOMIC WEEK

Sat. 13th March, at 7.0 p.m.

MUSEUM LECTURE THEATRE

DR. KATHLEEN LONSDALE

"The Use and Abuse of Atomic Energy"

Chairman: HERBERT G. TANNER

Sun. 21st March at 8.0 p.m.

LITTLE THEATRE, BRISTOL.

VERA BRITAIN

"The Human Spirit versus the Atom Bomb"

Chairman: CROFTON E. GANE.

Arranged by Friends, FoR and PPU.

## MY LAST INTERVIEW WITH GANDHI

By Dr. SAMAR RANJAN SAN

From his home in riot-torn Dacca, Dr. Sen wrote a letter to the Secretariat of the War Resisters' International. The date was Feb. 12, when the last religious rites for Gandhi were being performed and all India was mourning the loss of her leader.

In his letter Samar Sen declared

"One month ago I could hardly imagine that here in Dacca, in Pakistan, an English police officer would weep unashamedly in public, a fanatical leader of the Muslim League would moan that even the death of his son had not caused him so much pain and an orthodox Hindu priest would become senseless at the news of the death of a Congress leader."

In the extract from the letter printed below he recalls his last interview with the Mahatma.

Samar Ranjan Sen will be known to most of our readers as the writer of the article "Will Gandhi's Method be Forgotten?" which appeared on Feb. 13.

suffered in the Punjab riots.

"He greeted me with a smile: 'So

you have returned from Europe and how do you find the change in your new State, Pakistan?' After a few preliminary enquiries about friends, he plied me with question after question about conditions in post-war Europe. He had a word of sympathy and understanding for all concerned, there was nothing self-righteous about him. He commented on the good sense of the average Englishman, the amazing power of recovery of the French nation, the discipline of the Germans. There was no attempt to moralise about the difficulties and sufferings of others.

"Only once when I was talking about the present demoralisation of the Germans, of a complete absence of any spirit of resistance now that they were completely disarmed; he shook his head in great sadness and commented: 'What a pity that even such a brave people do not realise that it is not arms but it is the spirit of resistance which is the important thing. They are today so prostrate because they had put all their reliance on arms.'

"Then he turned to me and said: 'That is the lesson which you, the minorities of Pakistan, should also try to learn. If you rely on Satyagraha, you need not be afraid of any thing on earth.' But at the same time he had no word of reproach for the weakness of the ordinary man. He was a hard taskmaster so far as his disciples were concerned but he was always prepared to make allowances for the frailties of the common man. 'I wish every one of you would bravely face your tremendous difficulties; but I cannot blame any one who may not be quite equal to it.'

## PROBLEMS OF PACIFISM

"Then we turned to the problems of pacifism. His quiet words still ring in my ears: 'It is not enough to be good, our goodness must be effective; it is not enough to want peace, we must work for it and organise for it and struggle for it.'

"At this stage Maulana Azad, India's Minister of Education and greatest Muslim divine, came in for an interview. They discussed frankly and openly before us all certain questions of high policy. Gandhiji gave his calm and considered opinion on every question based on the fundamental tenets of his creed.

"Never in the history of the perhaps, has politics been so straightforward and honest.

"One remark of his was particularly illuminating for me. Maulana Azad was worried about a hunger-strike by some Hindu students. Gandhiji was firm about it.

"You must never allow your judgment to be influenced by this hunger-strike. If they are right, they would soon have no cause for continuing their fast. If they are wrong, let them die if they persist in continuing their fast. Fasting should never be undertaken lightly and then only for penance and self-purification and never to coerce others. Then he turned to me: 'This is the beauty of non-violence. It would not succeed unless it is also associated with truth.'

"Then we relapsed from the serious to the commonplace and he started joking about some trivial matters and infected all of us with his natural good humour and gaiety. There was then nothing of a stern saint and philosopher about him. He was as a kindly grandfather to whom, without hesitation, we could bring all our personal problems.

"But his daily routine was not to be interfered with. As the prescribed time came, he took up his spinning wheel and his secretary was ready with his pencil and note book. That was a polite hint and I took my leave of him, little imagining that that would be my last visit to this kindly, old, frail man."

## Bizonia's Economic Charter

—AS SEEN BY A FEDERALIST

THE new form Western Germany has acquired with the proclamation of the new economic constitution can be traced to the Marshall Plan. It is intended to make at least the field of operation of the Marshall Plan in Germany economically clear and controllable.

Economic considerations form the background of this experiment. The non-economic consequences are still rather indeterminable.

Yet, as politics and economics cannot be separated, it is difficult to see how in attending to economic problems the new Frankfurt institution will be able to steer clear of politics.

On the one hand, the economic sphere is unitary, leaving less space for a federalist development than a start from the political sector could have given. This rather hinders the integration of Germany into a United Europe, because it deprives Germany's neighbours of that security which can only be offered by her federalisation. If, on the other hand, France—before agreeing to the setting up of Trizonia—should perhaps demand and gain an international administration of the Ruhr, or a special status for the Rhineland, as a substitute for that security, the natural outcome would be a strengthening of nationalist movements in Germany.

The structure of the new Wirtschaftsrat (Economic Council) is complicated and not too well arranged. The Man in the Street does not understand it.

The older corporation from which the new council is derived—i.e., the Economic Council instituted by the British and the American military government in 1947—had already fostered tendencies towards centralism. Its 52 members being representatives of centralised political parties tried to fulfil the functions of a political parliament. At the same time, the problem of who was finally responsible remaining unsolved, tension between council and Länder (the states of Bizonia) was inescapable, even though the diets of these Länder had nominated the council members.

## TOWARDS CENTRALISM

The doubling of the members to 104 gives the new body still more the appearance of a real parliament. While the indirect method of election robs it of close connection with the people, the trend towards centralism is enhanced by the proviso that members of a diet of a Länder government must not serve in the Economic Council.

The executive, composed of the Verwaltungsrat (Executive Committee) and some other administrative offices, has the form of a real government. The co-ordinating chairman is like a Prime Minister; his cabinet consists of the Verwaltungsdirektoren (Directors of Administration) who, as is usual with political ministers, need not have the special qualifications of civil servants, whereas their deputies must, as is the case with the Under Secretaries of State.

A second chamber called Länderrat gives the new construction a thin federalist varnish. Following the American pattern of the Stuttgart-Länderrat, it is constituted of two

## OTTO LEHMANN-RUSSBUEDT

is Hon. Sec. of the German League of the Rights of Man (in Exile), a body affiliated to the International Arbitration League. He came to London, where he still lives, soon after leaving Germany in 1933.

Before World War I, he already had a reputation as an anti-militarist writer. When war did break out he was instrumental in forming an association called Bund Neues Vaterland with the object of securing a negotiated peace; Albert Einstein and Karl Liebknecht were among the many famous names from all shades of German society which were associated with this organisation. The year 1914 also saw the appearance of Lehmann-Russbueidt's pamphlet "The Creation of the United States of Europe."

The Bund was suppressed in 1915, emerged in 1918; and in 1922, because of its similarity to the French League of the Rights of Man, adopted the same title.

Otto Lehmann-Russbueidt celebrated his seventy-fifth birthday on New Year's Day.

representatives of each of the Länder. It has the right of veto which can, however, be overruled if, in a second division, an absolute majority of all members of the Economic Council vote accordingly. The constitutional function of the Länderrat, which may be compared to that of the House of Lords, is further weakened in so far as laws can be postponed only for two weeks.

Since the hitherto existing economic powers of the military governments have been transferred to the new body, its preponderance over the Länder and their governments is a probable sequence. The former German constitutional position: "Reichsrecht bricht Landrecht" (the Law of the Reich overrules the Law of the Länder) is again in existence.

## NON-ECONOMIC DEPARTMENTS

None of the non-economic departments (Justice, Health, Welfare, etc.) however, come formally within the competence of the Frankfurt institution. For these it appears to be the intention to form a bizonal, eventually trizonal, political Länderrat which may fulfil the combined functions of the Stuttgart-Länderrat, and of the Advisory Council of the British Zone. This would mean a certain diminishing of Frankfurt's centralist powers. Moreover the federalist tendency of the Americans, which this trend towards economic centralism, stimulated by the Marshall Plan, has overlaid, may be strengthened again when Trizonia comes into existence with the concurrence of France and Benelux. The case for federalism is thus not yet lost.

But particular complications derive from the fact that in the American Zone proper states were created, whereas the so-called Länder in the British Zone are rather like provinces. To guarantee an equitable accomplishment of the bizonal economic laws is only possible if the lower administrative units are synchronised too. But the present state of affairs cannot be remedied unless the British and the American points of view are better balanced. For the time being each wants his own system to predominate.

Once more, a turning away from the principle of centralist accumulation of power is the precondition of a thorough change of mind in Germany and the preparation of the German people for future membership of a United States of Europe.



# "TIME HAS COME FOR CIVILIAN ALTERNATIVE SERVICE" — Swiss Officer

HE SETS EXAMPLE: PROSECUTOR: MILITARY TRIBUNAL:  
Goes to prison 'Do not degrade him' 'Question is pending'

From Marie H. Allen, Associate Editor, Worldover Press

"FROM Military Service to Civilian Service" was the title of a challenging article published in Sept., 1945, by Suisse Contemporaine, a leading intellectual monthly of Lausanne. The time had come, the author believed, for Switzerland to effect an arrangement, already established in several countries, whereby conscientious objectors could fulfill their duty to the national community without war work of any kind.

René Bovard, the writer of the article and also editor of the paper, has now served a sentence of three months in prison because he felt he must "sign the article" with his acts. A first lieutenant in Division I of the Swiss army, former instructor of recruits, and former adjutant of a frontier battalion, he had refused last summer to present himself for a six-day officers' training course.

In a letter to the regimental commander, M. Bovard had asked to be allowed to give "a service conforming to my convictions," in some humanitarian work, for a longer period than that required for military studies. The army authorities made a surprising response, one which implied the possibility of a change: they could not grant the request "in the present state of legislation." When M. Bovard failed to appear for the training, he was prosecuted, according to the military code, for refusal to serve.

The case was of more than ordinary

significance. M. Bovard represented in a striking manner both loyalty in military service and leadership in high devotion to humanity. Since the end of the war, he had been conspicuously active in the work of the International Red Cross and director of information for "Don Suisse," the unselfish movement for mercy and restoration through which his country, neutral in arms, is aiding sufferers from the conflict. In his magazine, which is dedicated to the "spiritual defence of the nation," he has tried to arouse intellectual circles to greater responsibility towards the questions which agitate the world.

The trial was dramatic. The hall where the military tribunal was held was packed with people who, while not unanimous in agreement with M. Bovard's point of view, had come to show their sympathy. None of the lieutenant's comrades of the First Division would conduct the prosecution, so a major from the Second Division was appointed.

## EFFECT OF WORLD WAR

René Bovard told the tribunal that he had become an instructor in the armed forces in 1927 to manifest his attachment to the national community. It was not until the world was at war that, through intense internal struggle, he had come to the grave decision that he should refuse further military service. It did not seem the time to take this extreme stand when the country was in such a critical situation. Therefore he kept his post until after the war was over, though more and more as he saw the ravages of the conflict and the evolution of events, he came to feel that only the refusal of the individual conscience could put an end to wars. Henceforth he would refuse all military obligations.

Major Duruz, the prosecutor, was extraordinarily moderate in presenting his case. He mentioned the contradiction between the defendant's military record and his declaration of refusal, not undertaking to attack the theories M. Bovard and his attorney advanced, whose weaknesses, he said, were apparent. The penalty he recommended was imprisonment, as the law demanded, and the duration four months. He asked the tribunal not to impose additional punishment. The custom, he explained, was not to

expel objectors from the army, since this would, in a way, yield to their wishes. The degrading of an officer would entail expulsion; nothing justified such an ignominious sentence.

Moreover, the prosecutor refused to demand the forfeiting of civil rights. He asserted that M. Bovard had not manifested "a spirit of hostility toward the national defence," had not issued propaganda against the army, nor tried to dissuade others from performing military service. Then Major Duruz expressed an opinion which marked an important advance in the attitude of a military officer. He declared that one could give to national defence a larger meaning than that of military service. All the acts of the accused, he said, showed that he was ready to defend his country in the manner that his conscience dictated. Finally the prosecutor emphasised that in asking for a mild sentence he wanted to show that, contrary to legend, the military tribunals go to the extreme limit of indulgence in handling defaulters for reasons of conscience.

## LAWYER'S MOVING PLEA

M. Bolle, who has often served as lawyer for conscientious objectors, made a moving plea for non-violent resistance and for civil service. Eloquent he sought respect for humane convictions, and denounced the inequity of a system which is obliged to inflict infamous penalties on citizens even when the tribunal, seeing the loyalty of their services, could not help recognising them as perfectly honourable. He requested that the duration of the sentence should be only a little longer than that of the course in military training.

The tribunal reduced the time of imprisonment to three months, but would not give the defendant the benefit of "honourable motives"; the wish to escape from an obligation imposed by the federal constitution on every citizen, by disobeying the law, said the court, could not be so considered. Yet the court did not, as customary in such cases, deprive René Bovard of his civil rights.

Very significantly the tribunal suggested that the condemned man could have used all legal means to obtain the introduction of alternative civil service, since "The question is pending before the federal authorities."

This conspicuous case has forced attention on the difficult status of the conscientious objector in a land whose position of neutrality, and whose absence of aggressive designs, have seemed superficially to take the sting out of conscription.

March 12, 1948, PEACE NEWS—5

Is Labour Party membership a breach of Peace Pledge?

"Not guilty" verdict given

THE London Area of the Peace Pledge Union followed its Annual General Meeting with a Mock Trial on the controversial question of whether or not membership of the Labour Party is consistent with membership of the PPU.

Minnie Pallister, a member of the Labour Party since she was sixteen, put up a very spirited defence to the charge and the searching cross-examination of Stuart Morris, Counsel for the Prosecution.

She said that she came into the socialist movement because of her connection with the Church, and her membership of the ILP led her to accept pacifism as a twin principle with socialism. She was an active pacifist throughout the first world war. She stressed her belief that in so far as any body of people was helping to build a peaceful world the pacifist should be with them, even if in the sphere of international relations they differed from the majority in their party. To refuse co-operation with others in work of which one approved would lead one to a ridiculous position. One did not refuse to eat bread baked by non-pacifist bakers.

## ABANDON ARMS

Stuart Morris quoted from the Labour Party principles and from many recent speeches by Labour MPs. Miss Pallister agreed that the finest contribution Britain could make at the present juncture was to abandon armaments and, in answer to a question, she admitted that she was not in agreement with the Prime Minister of her own party on this issue.

She claimed her right also to be a member of the Peace Pledge Union and would only cease to be a member when the PPU, as now constituted, ceased to exist. It was formed for one purpose only, to renounce war, and if it abandoned this purpose ceased to be an organisation. The Labour Party, on the other hand, had a number of purposes and with many of these she felt bound to co-operate.

Tom Lovatt, Defending Counsel, said that the PPU was in an essentially different position from the Labour Party in that it should always be working towards its own extinction, which would come about with a warless world. The Labour Party, on the other hand, had a continuing job within which pacifists could play a useful part.

"Ideas," he said, "are curious things. They only work if the people who hold them do."

He asked his learned friend to remember the history of the Peace Pledge Union which had not been without its disagreements on vital matters, and to realise the important part to be played by minorities in any organisation. He called for a verdict of Not Guilty, which was enthusiastically given by the Jury, and the Judge, Denis Davis, discharged the prisoner.

G. A.

## N. HELENE JEANTY CERTIFIED SANE

Translated by  
R. C. ROBERTS  
from the French

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## MEETINGS, &c.

VICTOR GOLLANCZ on "The Outlook for Germany." Kingsway Hall, W.C.2, Wed., March 17, at 1.15. First of resumed lunch-hour mtgs. on "Current International Problems." National Peace Council, 144 Southampton Row, W.C.1.

LONDON, W.C.1. 8 Endsleigh Gdns. Discussion lectures every Sun., 7.30 p.m. March 14: "Anarchism and the Left" (postponed from Feb. 28). Tony Gibson, March 21: "The Position of Women in Society," Margery Mitchell. Central London Anarchist Group.

## ACCOMMODATION

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## LITERATURE, &c.

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# Will France and Italy Fall?

## COMMENTARY CONTINUED

policy would not seek to destroy a nation which was patently the touchstone of European and world peace.

It must be said to the credit of American diplomats that they did not allow themselves to be blinded by this complacency. Throughout the past six months the State Department in Washington has been an encyclopædia of knowledge on the political intrigue in Prague and Bratislava, knowledge which engendered considerable heat, and caused our phlegmatic Foreign Office to smile benignly on its more choleric brethren.

### Fleet Street yawns

TAMED by the kind of atmosphere prevalent in Downing Street during the past half year (or should I say hypnotised by it), the national Press in Britain discounted anything it heard from Washington, and yawned at anything it received from the heart of Europe, which tended to show that preparations were being made for a coup d'état. The consequence was that not until a fortnight ago did four-fifths of the adult population of this country know anything about the heinous crime that was brewing in Prague. One or two independent journalists warned a handful of people here, on the strength of unassailable information from Prague and Washington last November, that Czechoslovakia would lose its independence and be vanquished by Russia within four months, but for their pains they were told officially to be quiet and behave themselves. Their forecast was right to within ten days.

From the opening of the New Year onwards one Communist politician after another in Czechoslovakia was dropping hints like atom bombs about what lay in store for the people of Czechoslovakia. Here, they fell on deaf ears. Even the discovery of the arms dump at Olomouc very nearly failed to gain notice in the newspapers. In point of fact there was surprisingly little secrecy as between Moscow and Prague about the eventual revolution and the preparations for it. Russian policy, immediately after the Czechoslovak Government accepted (and then rejected) the invitation to participate in the Marshall Plan, positively thundered on its course.

### An old story

IN London there was a laudable attempt made to explain Russian policy, but the reasons adduced for her mighty effort at expansion had a familiar sound: The Soviet Union had never recovered from its experiences at the end of the 1914-18 war; its confidence in Britain and America had never been regained; as soon as it has built up a protective barrier against German aggression it will sit happily behind it and smile at everyone over the top of it. Russia must have security, and the fears for her safety must be allayed. There was a sickening likeness between those arguments and the spurious propaganda pumped out by the German Ministry of Information before the last war. Then, Germany was in a girdle of iron which had to be broken. As soon as she had achieved parity with the other European nations her smile would be as benign.

So long as we believe those arguments and base our attitude to Russia on them, the longer we shall be subject to political "surprises" of the Czechoslovak kind which never were surprises.

Today there are those, and far too many of them, who are a little pained by Russian advances on Finland, but are still prepared to apologise for Russian misconduct on the ground that Finland is a necessary part of the Soviet defence system. Within the next few weeks Finland will have been incorporated into the

Soviet system as stubborn and courageous as Finnish resistance to the Kremlin has been.

### They have been warned

THEN will come the turn of Italy and France, two countries which, by no stretch of the imaginative capacity of our Russian apologists, can be said to be part of the Russian defence system. And do not let us make off with the idea that democracy is so firmly embedded in France that events there can be allowed to take their course in the sure knowledge that the freedom of the spirit will triumph automatically. Only a few months ago politics there were balanced on the razor's edge and Mr. Molotov called off the revolution because he was not completely assured of success. It was merely *reculer pour mieux sauter*.

Another attempt at the supersession of democracy will be made within a very short time and will be granted an opportunity as soon as the present government, with its constantly fluctuating degree of support, is finally incapable of withstanding the intrigue against it. The Communists, with their well-trained cadres of armed partisans, putting up the cry of "Save France from Fascism," will take over all the strategic Ministries in time to snatch the country from the economic and commercial chaos brought about by strikes and civil disruption which the Communists themselves will have started.

### War: the new way

IF this is not to happen, then the governments of France and Italy must wake up immediately to the kind of enemy they are confronted with. Russia is at war with the West. It is not for me to deny it, because the foremost among her spokesmen has said so explicitly and followed up their pronouncements with specific action. But she is using a form of warfare which she alone has developed and which the Western European democracies have not yet begun to understand. When we talk of war we have in mind a condition of affairs where economic, financial, political and moral considerations come to an end and give place to military strategy and a state of life dictated by the best brains, together with some of the worst, in the War Office, the Admiralty and the Air Force.

We have yet a lot to learn, and it would be as well to set about learning it. Russian war-making is no longer of that order. Maps of strategy and tactics strewn about army headquarters showing the deployment of regiments and divisions of the Red Army are no longer the symbols of a nation at war. Manœuvres far beyond the Arctic Circle are not merely being held against the day when Russia will suddenly cut short one mode of self-assertion and substitute another for it.

Today the Russian strategist is a complex of all the qualities and abilities, civilian and military, which the Western democracies at present keep for their separate uses. He is not sitting idly by waiting for his Government to call him to the colours; he is there already serving his country which is developing its warfare now.

### Operation Grain-train

A TRAINLOAD of grain to this country or that outside the boundaries of Russia proper is a military operation strictly within the Russian conception of this warfare, and a trade agreement with any country in the West is a strategic calculation. Mr. Zorin, Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs, went to Prague to supervise a delivery of food.

And if the readers of this Commentary do not believe it they would be well-advised to study the published statements of the world-famous Red Army generals in recent months. They have said all this better than I can. Do pacifists read this sort of thing, I wonder?

## WAR OFFICE WANTS TENTH OF WALES

### Evicts Farmers

WHILST the Government calls on everyone to work harder, directs men into agriculture and professes to be encouraging the farmers of Great Britain to produce more than ever before, mile after mile of rich arable and pastoral land is being seized by the War Office and converted into a desolate waste for the purposes of military training.

Some of the most historic beauty-spots in the United Kingdom are already barred to the people; in places, the tourist industry has been wrecked. Farmers are being evicted from their lands and villagers from their homes—and still the enclosures go on.

Twice in 1946 the intentions of the War Office were thwarted by the vigorous protests of the people of Marionethshire. Cader Idris and the upper Mawddach Valley were saved from desecration, for the time being. But now a working hill farmer in the latter district tells us that the military have returned to the attack, with a proposal to annex yet another 5,000 acres to the Trawsfynydd Artillery Ranges.

### Twice pre-war area

How much longer is this to continue? One-tenth of the entire country of Wales is now in the hands of the Service Departments—twice the area, that is, which they held in the whole of Britain before the War. These enclosures, if continued according to plan, bid fair to divide the north of Wales almost completely from the south, and depopulate the Welsh-speaking heart of the country. What that means to the culture of an independent and uncorrupted people can be imagined by those who still retain some imagination.

Are the military so anxious to forestall a possible enemy that they will themselves blast every stretch of rural Britain with their high explosives? Are they so concerned with the defence of this country, that they will leave us without any country to defend?

The right of the Welsh—the most affected by these surreptitious but steady encroachments—to defend their traditional way of life is, writes Gwynfor Evans, denied, "because, it is said, we have accepted conscription." Yet even this is untrue:

Wales has never accepted permanent conscription; the question has never been put to her. Welsh opinion has never been consulted as to whether or not it wants military conscription, and the government has no mandate to impose it on her. If she were consulted, and if a popular referendum were taken, it would show how overwhelming is the opposition to conscription in Wales.\*

### Need for food

Britain today needs all the food she can produce. Our economic problem cannot be solved permanently, or even for long, by mass industrial production for export. Still less, if it came to war, could Britain be saved by the military, if her people were dependent upon imported foodstuffs to the extent they are at present. All that the military can do is to prevent recovery and impede survival, wasting the material and moral resources of this country, and laying waste the country itself.

Only an altogether new economy can ensure the preservation of Britain as a country worthy of being preserved; and that can only be created if we cease to rely on arms, which, so far from delivering us, simply prevent us from delivering ourselves.

\*Havoc in Wales—Welsh Party Office, 8 Queen St., Cardiff.

### CAN YOU HELP?

The Educational Interchange Council (Acting Secretary, Richard S. Rowntree) would be glad to hear from families willing to give hospitality to individual German children (16-18 years old) or Austrian students, for periods up to a week, during March and April. Many wish to stay a few days in London before returning to their own countries, and the Council could help with expenses in case of need. Offers of hospitality should be sent to 43, Parliament Street, S.W.1.

## MOTHERS SAVE —

IN Bolton, Lancs., over thirty mothers are living this week on the equivalent of German rations. They have pledged themselves "to give up every luxury and pleasure beyond the bare means of existence, and what we save in food and money give to the Lord Mayor of London's fund for suffering children."

By last Monday the mothers had already achieved one great success: secured publicity in the national press for the small ration scale current in Germany.

### CHILDREN ARE FED

BACK at Lake Success after a six weeks' survey in twelve European countries, Maurice Pape, Executive Director of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, described the work of UNICEF as he saw it in operation in Rumania:

"While officials and welfare workers were setting up 400 milk stations in Bucharest, other workers pushed out into famine-stricken regions like Moldavia over primitive roads knee-deep in mud. Six oxen slowly pull a wagon-load of skim powdered milk for distances up to 40 miles, with instructors ploughing through the same mud to show volunteer workers in the villages how to prepare and serve UNICEF supplies.

"Tens of thousands of persons—government officials; teachers, doctors and nurses; the clergy; village priests and ministers; trade unionists; and citizens' groups of all kinds—are involved in getting the food to the children."

Mr. Pape remarked especially about the part women are playing. Women of all categories work side by side, those who belonged to the pre-war aristocracy along with the wives of labourers. There is no distinction in their devotion, and they make no distinction among the children, meeting as best they can the needs without regard to race, nationality, religion, or the political affiliations of the parents.

## TEN YEARS AGO

From Peace News, March 12, 1938

A tribute to Carl von Ossietzky, the German pacifist who was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for 1935 was paid by a German secret police officer last week.

At the trial of the Berlin lawyer charged with embezzling the Peace Prize money, the officer declared:

"We have found all along that Ossietzky is a man of fine character and an idealist, who never changed his opinions to court favours."

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